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THE TRUE SITE OF CALVARY

AND

*SUGGESTIONS RELATING TO THE
RESURRECTION*

BY FISHER HOWE,

AUTHOR OF ORIENTAL AND SACRED SCENES

WITH AN

ILLUSTRATIVE MAP OF JERUSALEM.

New York

ANSON, D. F. RANDOLPH & CO.

1871.

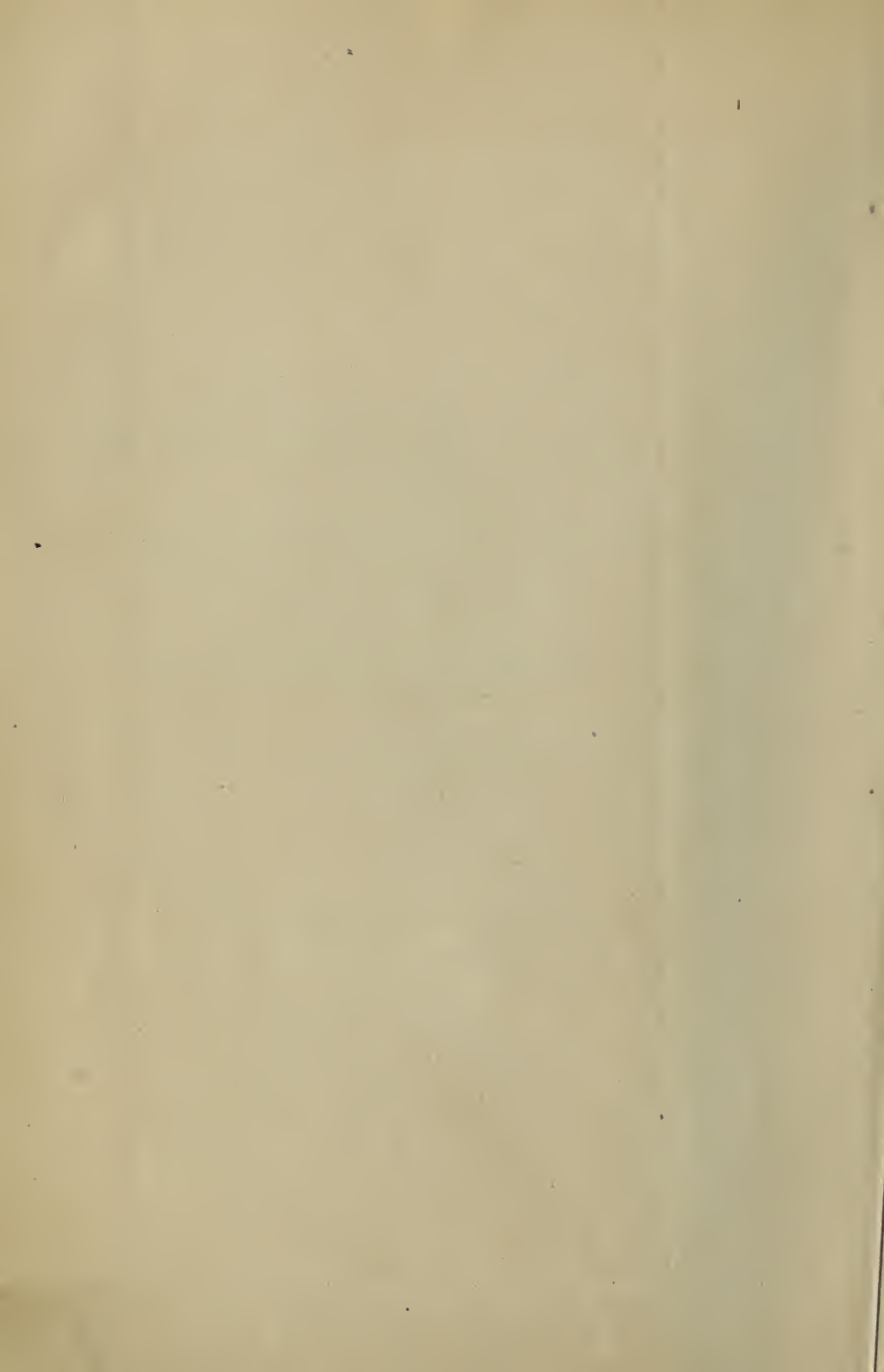
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HANDBOOK
MAP OF
JERUSALEM

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Scale of feet

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"And they took Jesus, and led him away. And he bearing his cross went forth into a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew, Golgotha: where they crucified him, and two others with him, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst."—JOHN.

"Light springs from the midday-midnight of Golgotha, and every herb of the field blossoms sweetly beneath the shadow of the once accursed tree. In that place of thirst, grace hath dug a fountain which ever gusheth with waters pure as crystal, each drop capable of alleviating the woes of mankind."—SPURGEON.

NEW YORK:
ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & COMPANY,
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THE
TRUE SITE OF CALVARY.

SCRIPTURE STATEMENT.

THE following facts, in regard to the crucifixion, are clearly stated by the writers of the New Testament.

I.

The place of crucifixion was without the walls of Jerusalem.

“Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate.” Heb. 13 : 12.

“And led Him away to crucify Him, and as they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name : him they compelled to bear his cross.” Matt. 27 : 31, 32.

“Behold, some of the watch came into the city.” Matt. 28 : 11.

“And led him out to crucify him ; and they compel one Simon, a Cyrenian, who passed by, coming out of the country, to bear his cross.” Mark 15 : 20, 21.

“And as they led him away, they laid hold upon

one Simon, a Cyrenian, coming out of the country, and on him they laid the cross, that he might bear it after Jesus." Luke 23 : 26.

It seems to be implied that Simon was met just as they passed out from the gate of the city.

"And they took Jesus, and led him away ; and he, bearing his cross, went forth into a place called the place of a skull." John 19 : 16, 17.

II.

The place of crucifixion was nigh unto the City.

"This title then read many of the Jews ; for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city." John 19 : 20.

III.

The place of crucifixion was popularly known under the general designation of Kranion (Gr. κρανίον).

"And when they were come unto a place called Golgotha, that is to say, A place of a skull." Matt. 27 : 33.

"And they bring him unto the place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, The place of a skull." Mark 15 : 22.

"And when they were come to the place which is called Calvary, there they crucified him." Luke 23 : 33.

"And he, bearing his cross, went forth into a place called the place of a skull." John 19 : 17.

We ask attention to Dr. Lange's critical note on Matt. 27 : 33 : "It is maintained," he remarks, "by Cyril, Calovius, De Wette, and others, that the name arose from the conical shape of the hill. Golgotha means Skull, and the place is not called *κρανίων τόπος* *i. e.*, place of Skulls, but *κρανίον* *i. e.*, skull. Luke uses *κρανίον*."

IV.

The place of crucifixion was obviously nigh to one of the leading thoroughfares to and from the City.

"And they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads." Matt. 27 : 39.

"And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads." Mark 15 : 29.

These were obviously such as were passing to and from the city ; not those who followed out to see the crucifixion.

V.

The place of crucifixion was eminently conspicuous.

"And many women were there, beholding afar off." Matt. 27 : 55.

"There were also women looking on afar off." Mark 15 : 40.

"And the people stood beholding." Luke 23 : 35.

"And all his acquaintance, and the women that

followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, beholding these things." Luke 23 : 49.

"This title then read many of the Jews." John 19 : 20.

VI.

It was a place nigh unto, not only Sepulchres, but also Gardens.

Joseph of Arimathea had his garden and tomb there. John 19 : 38-42.

No sophistry, or interposed traditional authority, or belief, can be allowed to evade these plain demands of the written word of God. Failure to meet one of them is proper ground for suspicion ; failure in all, is good cause for rejecting any site, traditional, or hypothetical.

HISTORICAL STATEMENT.

The capacious edifice erected over, and occupied as covering, the identical place of Crucifixion and Burial of our Lord, is situated on the eastern declivity of the ridge generally known as Akra, approximating the Tyropœon valley. It is less than a quarter of a mile distant (1223 ft.), by measurement from the ancient Pretorium, or castle of the Roman Governor, on the northern end of the Harem, or ancient Temple area. The various buildings and appendages cover about three acres of land, having three hundred and thirty

feet from north to south, and four hundred feet from east to west.

The title, which we have chosen for this article, gives an intimation of our distrust of the identity of the so-called "Holy Sepulchre," with the true site of Calvary.

We propose, then, to examine the subject ; in doing which we desire to state our views as concisely as is admissible, and hope the reader of our pages may gain distinct impressions of the distinct and related facts, which have influenced and decided our convictions in the premises. Even this will, however, require a rather extended reference to various authorities, as well as statements of our personal observation, and involve some seeming repetitions.

Before proceeding further, it becomes necessary that we make some brief historical statements, as they have relation more or less direct with what may be advanced to vindicate our position as to the true Calvary.

We learn from the writings of Josephus that Jerusalem was fortified, in his day, by three walls, "on such parts as were not encompassed with impassable valleys," which were erected in various stages of Jewish history.

FIRST, the walls of David and Solomon, enclosing Zion and Moriah. This wall, *on its northern part*, ran from near, but we believe somewhat northward of, the present Jaffa Gate, around the brow of Zion, eastward to the temple area. These limits were quite

restricted, as the entire area included only about one hundred and thirty acres, and the population under the prosperous reign of Solomon doubtless early outgrew this narrow limit.

For reasons which we cannot stop particularly to state, the city could be enlarged only on its northern side, especially in view of its required defences.

SECOND, the wall built by Uzziah, or his successors. The disasters of the nation, subsequent to the dismemberment of the empire of Solomon, induced King Uzziah, about B. C. 775, to strengthen the walls with towers and additional modes of defence. The building even of the second wall may have been projected under his reign. It was completed probably as early as 725 B. C. Obviously it was designed both to enlarge the area of the city, and to strengthen the defences on its most exposed quarter. The successors of Uzziah continued the work of building and repair. From the intimations of the Bible, it appears more probable that the second wall was erected by Hezekiah, 2 Chron. 32 : 5. He repaired not only the old wall, but "another wall without." That this new wall existed in the time of the prophet Isaiah is evident, ch. 22 : 11.

We wish to note specially, that military engineering had become a profession in the times of Uzziah. 2 Chron. 26 : 15. Scientific men had invented engines of war for the towers and bulwarks "to shoot arrows and great stones withal." That the second wall should

have run very nearly on the line of the present wall, in that quarter, was an essential demand from every military consideration of ancient warfare, and those "cunning men" were not likely to overlook or discard the superior line for successful defence. Thus we see that it was a very old wall at the Christian era.

THIRD, the wall of Herod Agrippa. This wall, enclosing a large tract of land on the northern side of the city, was undertaken by Herod Agrippa, some ten years after the Crucifixion. He was occupied in that work when death arrested his career at Cesarea. Acts 12 : 20. This third wall has no special relation to our subject. Its foundations are distinctly traceable in various places on the line of its circuit north of the city. Josephus (*Ant.* 15. 11. 4.) informs us that, "the castle adjoining the temple was built by the Asamoneans, but was strengthened by Herod and by him named Antonia, after his Roman friend Antonius."

We find Jerusalem, at the period of the Christian era, surrounded by these two ancient walls. To identify the course of the second has engaged the attention of the Christian world, during the last thirty years; for our readers must be reminded that little more than that time has elapsed since the validity of the site of the so-called Holy Sepulchre was responsibly impugned by Dr. Robinson and others, as standing within the line of that wall—a position fatal to its authenticity, as the place of Crucifixion and Burial of our Lord.

It is hardly necessary to say, that all which the writers of the New Testament have said is comprised in the most concise statements of the circumstances attendant on the Crucifixion and Burial. That little importance was attached religiously, by the early Church, to the specific localities, is obvious from the silence of the sacred writers on the subject.

In A. D. 70, only forty years after the Crucifixion, Jerusalem, with its temple and its walls, was to a very large extent overthrown and destroyed by the Roman armies under Titus. The Christian population of the city, it is stated, had retired from Jerusalem before it was environed by Titus, and so escaped the dire and predicted calamity that overtook the rejectors of their Messiah. With few exceptions the Jewish population were slain or sold into slavery. Their number was greatly exaggerated, without doubt, by Josephus.

Jerusalem remained an utter ruin for the ensuing sixty years, having only a garrison of Roman soldiers. All knowledge of the place of Crucifixion, during the vicissitudes of the succeeding two hundred and fifty years, is mythical, or veiled in uncertainty. The seat of the Jerusalem Episcopate was at Cesarea. It is proper to say, however, that it is claimed by the ecclesiastics that they have an unbroken chain of bishops, from the earliest times. After the conversion of the Roman Emperor, Constantine, and the subversion of Pagan worship, Helena, his mother, made her pilgrimage into Palestine, A. D. 326. She was then nearly four-

score years old. She caused splendid churches to be erected at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives to commemorate the Birthplace, and the place of Ascension, of the Saviour. The Church, erected at Bethlehem, has survived the vicissitudes of the centuries. It is now enclosed in the Castle-convent of the Nativity. This convent is an enormous pile, and really consists of three convents in one enclosure; *i.e.* Latin, Greek and Armenian. Within the walls of that convent we were glad to take shelter from the rage of a most violent snow storm, by which we were virtually imprisoned for several days. The Bethlehem boys, too, were happy to make the nave of the church their resort, and there amused themselves in various sports unmolested.

The erection of several other churches on traditional sacred localities is ascribed to Helena during her stay in Palestine, which was for only a few months. Particularly is she credited by historians and writers of the early part of the fifth century, with having founded that of the Holy Sepulchre. It is related that she returned to expire in the arms of Constantine, at Nicomedia, about A. D. 328. Subsequently her body was taken to Rome and buried in great splendor. Many of us have seen in the Vatican Gallery the immense and beautifully-wrought red Porphyry Sarcophagus, taken from a tomb outside the Maggiore Gate, in which her body was laid at her interment.

THE TRADITIONAL SITE.

The identity of the site of the Holy Sepulchre was assumed by the Christian world, and passed almost unquestioned, for nearly thirteen entire centuries thereafter.

That the traditional Calvary, when once designated by Imperial mandate or high Prelatical authority, and occupied by a costly and gorgeous commemorative church, or Basilica, with its appendages, its interior ornamented with rich columns and altars to attract the senses, should have been regarded with undoubting confidence in the age of its inception and establishment, is not remarkable, especially in view of the teachings of many of the religious guides as to the authority to be attached to the traditions of the church. It should be remembered that a very large portion of the ecclesiastics, who occupied the newly-established churches and monasteries in Palestine, were strangers from various and distant lands; very few of them being acquainted with the language of the country or much of its authentic history.

In our own time we see most of the Oriental sects, as well as that of Rome, adhering with unshaken tenacity to the authority of tradition. In the language of Mr. Newman, they hold, "that the miracles of revelation are as little evidence of revelation, at this day, as the miracles of the Church are evidences for the Church," *i. e.* the miracles of the Bible have equal,

but no more credibility than the miracles of the Church.

While in the act of writing this page, pausing to rest, we incidentally opened a volume of Dean Milman's *Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* at chap. 16, A. D. 324, the time of Constantine. Speaking of Eusebius, Gibbon inquires: "If Grotius should be convicted of exaggerating the merits and sufferings of the Reformers, we shall be naturally led to inquire what confidence can be placed in the doubtful and imperfect monuments of ancient credulity; what degree of credit can be assigned to a courtly Bishop and a passionate declaimer, acting under the protection of Constantine?" To this inquiry of Gibbon, Dean Milman appends the following note: "It is deeply to be regretted that the history of this period rests so much on the loose, and it must be admitted by no means scrupulous, authority of Eusebius. Ecclesiastical history is a solemn and melancholy lesson, that the best, even the most sacred cause, will eventually suffer by the least departure from *Truth*."

Jerusalem was visited in 1738 by a Saxon, named Kortens. He, on his return to Germany, published his doubts as to the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre. One of the reasons he assigned was its proximity to the temple area, not to mention the gross superstitions rife within the church, which he well compared to a raree show. We can well sympathize in that conviction. The impressions of sacredness, which would

seem almost instinctively to attach to many localities, are effaced by the absurd superstitions and baptized paganism engrafted by the ignorant and corrupt sects, who claim concurrent rights within the enclosure. The veritable spot which indicates the exact centre of the earth, and from which dust was taken for the creation of Adam, is shown with the same confident assertion as is the so-called tomb of Joseph, from which our Lord is said to have arisen. As we witnessed the mummary of the blessing of trinkets for a "*bakhshish*" within the tomb, we were relieved by the conviction that our Saviour's body neither rested in, nor rose from, this place. It does not appear, however, that the views of Kortens arrested much attention in Germany.

It seems quite a coincidence, that just one hundred years (A.D. 1838) after Kortens made his visit to Jerusalem, our deceased friends, Dr. Edward Robinson, of New York, and Rev. Eli Smith, American Missionary of Beirut, should have made their first explorations in Palestine. The results of their visit were embodied in "The Biblical Researches," subsequently published by Dr. Robinson, which have a world-wide fame, and are a standard authority in Europe, as well as here in this country. Dr. Robinson has with great ability presented his reasons for rejecting the site of the Holy Sepulchre as entirely apocryphal.

CAN THE SITE BE FOUND?

The inquiry is made, If we reject tradition, can a site meeting all Scriptural requirements be found? We answer, that it is our object, in this paper, to point to such a site. It is further inquired, Could it be possible that so great a mistake as must be assumed was made, in adopting the location for the scene of crucifixion and burial? Dr. Robinson has well replied to the question. "It is no more improbable, than the most obvious error in the selection of the spot on Olivet for the Church of Ascension." Luke expressly says, that Jesus "led them out as far as Bethany" from Jerusalem, whence "He was carried up into heaven." Now, the traditional place of Ascension, where Helena erected her church, said to commemorate the identical spot, is not a third of the distance of Bethany from Jerusalem, being less than half a mile from Moriah. Within the last six centuries the church has disappeared. Its site, marked now by a small octagonal chapel, is on the western side of the central dome of Olivet, so high up as best to overlook the entire city. From the summit of Olivet, Jerusalem is not seen, as it is there hidden by the swelling sides of the mountain. It may be suggestive that the region around Bethany, as well as the distant Gentile lands of Moab and Ammon, are there in full view.

Moreover, it is by no means clear that the place of crucifixion was selected or announced, until subsequent

to the departure of the aged empress from Palestine ; while no doubt exists as to the fact of her adoption of the site for the Church of the Ascension on the western side of Olivet. Mr. Williams (*Holy City*, vol. 2, p. 447) earnestly defends the tradition, and endeavours to parry the objection to this site, by quoting Matt. 21 : 1. It is refreshing to turn from Mr. Williams' tenacious commitment to tradition, to the sensible words of Dean Stanley, on this topic. (*Sinai and Palestine*, 191.) "He led them out as far as Bethany." "The appropriateness of the real scene presents a singular contrast to the inappropriateness of that fixed by a later fancy, 'seeking for a sign,' on the broad top of the mountain, out of sight of Bethany, and in full sight of Jerusalem ; and thus in equal contrast with the letter and the spirit of the Gospel narrative."

TOPOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT.

The appositeness of many of the quotations which we now propose to introduce into this article, from the statements of archæological explorers and writers on the history and topography of Jerusalem, will be more fully appreciated, if we present, at this point, a few facts in relation to the external or general aspects of the city.

The plateau or tongue of land, partially included by the Kidron valley on the north and east, and Gihon or Hinnom on the south-west, comprises about one thousand acres. The average elevation of this land

above the Mediterranean is not far from twenty-five hundred feet. The present city occupies the southern half of the territory. The average width from east to west is about half a mile; the length from north to south is not far from one and a half miles. At the time of the third wall of Agrippa, nearly the entire plateau was surrounded by walls. Besides the valleys referred to, there is a central valley, about three-quarters of a mile in length, running from north-west to south-east—the Cheesemongers' Valley, of the Old Testament, and Tyropœon of Josephus. This valley has its commencement near the Damascus Gate, and terminates at the Pool of Siloam, near the junction of the Kidron and Hinnom valleys. On the east side of the Tyropœon valley, is Bezetha, Moriah, and Ophel, forming almost a continuous ridge. On the western side, Akra and Zion. A lateral of the Tyropœon, if not its main arm, formerly ran around the northern brow of Zion. It is now nearly filled up, and it required the scrutinizing eye of Dr. Robinson to detect its former existence. He maintained that the Tyropœon of Josephus had its commencement near the citadel at the Jaffa Gate, and ran around the northern brow and southern side of Zion to Siloam; thus giving to Akra the gibbous form which Josephus mentions. This view was stoutly resisted by Mr. Williams and others. Since Dr. Robinson's death, the Palestine Exploration Society, through its engineers, has fully sustained, by their ex-

cavations, the theory of Dr. Robinson, and specially indicated the course of the valley.

On the mooted question of the correct application of the names *Akra* and *Zion*, we shall not attempt an opinion, further than to say, that we see no satisfactory reason for a change, and therefore, refer to them under their popular designations.

BEZETHAN LINE OF FORTIFICATIONS.

In the following pages, we shall maintain that the Grotto of Jeremiah, or rather the isolated hill in which the cave was dug—the vast chasm excavated, by which it was isolated from Bezetha—and the second wall of Josephus, *are identical parts of one general plan of fortification*. But for the wall, there would have been no kranion-like hill where we now find one. If now, we go back in thought some seven or more centuries before the Christian era, and previous to the erection of this second wall, we find that Bezetha presented to the observer one continuous ridge, its north-west end rising abruptly sixty feet above the general level of the plateau. Its extreme distance from Antonia, at this point, was about two thousand feet; as the ridge ran toward Moriah, it gradually subsided, until it was entirely lost. For *strategical considerations*, the line adopted by the military engineers of the kings of Judea was not carried northward, to enclose the entire ridge. They cut the ridge by a wide and deep chasm, at about one thousand feet from the northern end,

with the obvious design of turning the angle of the wall on its southern side, a short distance east of the top of the ridge. Thence they conducted it in a south-westerly direction along the crest or eastern brow of the hill, to the old castle on the temple area. This line meets the fact of the ancient *Ecce Homo* arch, as one of its gates, which appropriately falls within the line.

We repeat, our specific object in this paper, is to indicate the site of the true Golgotha. To make good our position, the spot indicated must have been outside of the gates of Jerusalem, and yet nigh unto the city. While we have, and maintain, definite views in regard to the general course of the second wall, *we wish it here indelibly impressed* upon the mind of the reader, that it is not essential to our "specific object" at what precise point the wall began or terminated, its western or its eastern boundary; but it is essential that it be made reasonably certain that, on its northern course, the wall did actually occupy, at and near the present Damascus Gate, very nearly, if not exactly, the same foundations as are occupied by the present wall and gate.

Thus, among the positions which we are called upon to sustain, are,

First. That the wall of Hezekiah, or the second wall of Josephus, was erected from its commencement near to the Jaffa Gate, onward to the crown of Bezetha, a short distance beyond the Damascus Gate,

mainly on the same line as the present wall. This we shall assume was a military necessity, and is also evidenced by existing portions of that wall found in the present barrier.

Second. Although not essential to our specific object, we very earnestly maintain, that the site of the so-called Holy Sepulchre was quite within the line of the second wall ; consequently, it could not have been the place of crucifixion and burial of our Lord.

Third. That a conspicuous and isolated hill of very peculiar kranion-like formation exists, and has existed, just outside of the Damascus Gate, from the time of the building of the second wall.

THE GROTTA OF JEREMIAH.

That our location of the true Calvary is not a myth, called up to sustain a theory, nor any result of quarrying subsequent to the Crucifixion, we believe, and we hope that it will be so accepted in view of the variety of evidence proposed for consideration. The fact cannot be ignored that there exists near the Damascus Gate a hill which, *seen at a distance*, is strikingly skull-shaped, and there is no other to rival its claim to such distinction. No one whose eyes have "beheld afar off," the "Grotto of Jeremiah" will be likely soon to forget its unique appearance. A constantly recurring conjecture that it might have been the place of Crucifixion has been in the mind of the writer for a half-

score of years. This conjecture has ripened into a conviction, which a careful review and examination of concurring evidences have more than ever assured. *Our long cherished belief is that the true Calvary was the crown of the isolated skull-shaped hill situated a few rods north of the Damascus Gate.* This hill rises abruptly to the height of sixty feet above the general level of the plateau on the northern side of the city of Jerusalem. Its isolation is the result of a vast excavation, made at an early period of Jewish history, which cut it off by a wide chasm, *from the original Bezetha ridge*, of which it was part and parcel. This ridge extended, and now extends, within the city walls down towards the temple area. Thus a hill is left steeply rounded on its west, north and east sides forming the back and sides of the kranion, or skull. The skull-like front, or face, on the south side is formed by the deep perpendicular cutting and removal of the ledge. To the observer, at a distance, the eyeless socket of the skull would be suggested at once by the yawning cavern, hewn within its face, beneath the hill. We may add that this hill is less than half a mile from Herod's Palace on Mount Zion, or Pilate's Judgment Hall in Antonia. The 31st chapter of Jeremiah is remarkable for its evangelical promises. The topographical reference in the last three verses, it has been difficult to apply. There is no other hill which so well corresponds to the "Gareb" in the 39th verse as this we have described. Gareb has been identified with

Bezetha. "And the measuring line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath."

In regard to the line of the second wall from the Damascus Gate in its course south to Antonia, we are fully sustained by Dr. Robinson. In his *Later Biblical Researches*, he remarks: "I went to the Damascus Gate and, mounting the wall on the east, passed on as far as the highest point of Bezetha. My object was to look for the probable course of the second wall, between said Gate and the fortress Antonia. The problem has been so to draw the line of that wall as to leave the hill Bezetha outside and yet provide for the security of the city. The western declivity of Bezetha is comparatively short, but very steep. The northern wall rises steeply from the Damascus Gate, and is carried over the top of the hill upon the rock. Where on the highest part of the wall, the highest tower is now found, the precipice of rock is also highest. This spot is upon the very crown of the ridge of Bezetha, and just here the ridge also is highest. The ridge drops off on the east, by a perpendicular ledge of rock eight or ten feet high, and then slopes down gradually eastward. If now we may suppose an ancient corner tower or bastion on the wall, at this high point, then the wall might readily be carried from it on a southeasterly direction along the crest of the ridge Bezetha, quite to the north-west corner of the Harem or near it. Such a course would bring the steep and short western

slope within the city, while the great body of the hill itself, the more level, extended and habitable part, would remain on the outside. It is likewise worthy of remark that such a course of the wall being supposed, the present arch *Ecce Homo*, the piers of which we have seen to be probably ancient, would fall directly upon its line." The same general views are again expressed on p. 220 after another visit and re-examination of the ground.

This view is confirmed in the Hand-book of Rev. Dr. Porter, Vol. I, pp. 91 and 101.

MR. WILLIAMS' ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF THE
HOLY SEPULCHRE.

In the wish to present the views of the best qualified advocate of the validity of the site of the so-called Holy Sepulchre, we preface what is said by stating that it was obvious to all, and was so admitted, that it was vital to the issue that it be shown that the site was without the walls of the city at the period in question. An early theory of the course of the second wall, arranged to meet the exigency of the church, commenced the wall at, or near, the present citadel and ancient tower at the Jaffa Gate, and thence carried it in a direction nearly east to the Castle Antonia. A mere glance at the map shows that this theory would add to the city a merely insignificant triangle of territory, quite under the northern brow of Zion in the Tyropœon valley.

When, however, the investigations and discoveries of Dr. Robinson and others, at and near the Damascus Gate, had clearly identified there, a section of the old second wall and gate, the theory had to be abandoned, and a new course devised to save the Church of the Holy Sepulchre intact, as without the line of the second wall. Thus we have the much pondered hypothesis of Mr. Williams.

By a residence of four years in Jerusalem, as the chaplain to Bishop Alexander of the English Mission, the Rev. George Williams enjoyed the best available facilities for examining localities and so, if possible, for vindicating the validity of the site occupied. He is the author of two volumes, entitled, *The Holy City*.

He embarked on his work with all the enthusiasm inspired by the conviction that "the credit of the whole Church, for fifteen hundred years, is in some measure involved in the veracity" of tradition; "the moral character of one important branch of the Church, if not the whole Church, is at stake." (*Holy City*, Vol. 2, p. 2.)

Mr. Williams perfectly comprehended the position. The whole question rested on the course of the second wall. Did that wall include or exclude the site of the church? He first gives his location for the several towers described by Josephus, and especially locates the Gate Gennath, the starting point of the second wall. We reproduce a part of his own statement, which has the merit of simplicity, and will be readily

understood with the aid of the map which is connected with this article. We should first say, however, that it was important for Mr. Williams to refute Dr. Robinson's view that the Tyropœon, or a lateral branch of it, originally ran around the northern brow of Zion, extending to near the Jaffa Gate. Let us pause, for a moment, to hear what Captain Warren says : (Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 209.)

“Our excavations in the city have established the certainty of a valley running down from the citadel to the sanctuary (or temple area). It commences a few yards north of the citadel. It runs through the pool of the Bath (Hezekiah) and the Muristan, and eventually into the Tyropœon.”

In his two volumes, Mr. Williams has presented the entire subject in its historic, traditional, and topographic relations. We shall endeavor here simply to reproduce what he has said as to the line of the second wall : (Holy City, Vol. 2, p. 54.) “We may now return to the point from which we set out, and endeavour to trace the course of the second wall. Let us then place the Gate Gennath in the northern wall of Zion, somewhere near the entrance to the bazaars from the west. The second wall, commencing here, will run in a northerly direction, parallel to the three arcades of the bazaars, and to the street of St. Stephen, but a little to the west of this line. It will be carried along a sloping ground, which is a disadvantage, but the Tyropœon must be crossed ; and since Akra is

north of Zion, the wall must run in that direction, along the declivity to the upper and more shallow part of the valley, near the Damascus Gate. The disadvantage would be obviated, in some measure, by artificial defences. 'The Valley Gate' and the 'Corner Gate,' and 'the turning of the wall,' fortified with towers by Uzziah, and 'the broad wall,' were probably found in this part of the wall. And it is not unlikely that those two chambers constructed of large stones, still seen near the Damascus Gate, may have belonged to one of the fortified gates, and have aided to strengthen the wall in this its weakest and most assailable part. It here reaches the hill Akra (Bezetha), round which it was carried until it met the wall of the fortress of Antonia."

That Mr. Williams' ingenuity was taxed to the utmost, in his arrangement of the wall on this hypothesis, we are assured; for on page 58, he remarks: "I think I may safely affirm, without fear of contradiction, that no other course for this part of the second wall can be shown, which has so much to be said in its favour, and so little against it."

Captains Wilson and Warren, of the Palestine Exploration Society, give the following information as to the result of their investigations on the line above indicated for the Gate Gennath and the foundations of the second wall: (Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 208,) "It was ascertained, during the progress of the survey, that the old arch near the south end of the bazaars,

called the Gate Gennath, was a comparatively recent building, and that the ruins near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been pointed out as fragments of the second wall, were really portions of the church." Of this gate, Mr. Williams thus writes: (Holy City, Vol. 2, p. 58,) "A frequent inspection of this singular and venerable pier left little doubt on my mind, that it belonged to a gateway of the second wall."

Of the explorations on the Muristan, or grounds of the hospital of St. John, Captain Wilson thus writes: (Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 210,) "The first excavation was made to the west of the old arch, discovered by Mr. Williams." "This was in search of the foundations of the second wall." A second excavation was commenced farther west, with no special result. At a later period they cut from north to south, in search of signs of the wall, sunk shafts, etc. "The trench from north to south was three hundred and fifty feet long, twenty-five feet deep on an average, and two hundred feet from the bazaars." Nothing was revealed to confirm Mr. Williams' hypothesis. Some year or more later, at the expense of the Archduke of Modena, "the so-called Gate Gennath was re-examined, and trenches were dug near to it, but with the same results as before. No wall foundations were discovered." That the foundations of the second wall, on the line of the traditional hypothesis, have not been discovered, is no fault of the Palestine Exploration Society's engi-

neers; for they have certainly made careful search for the foundations on that line.

In his introduction (see *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 16), Dean Stanley makes an admission which is damaging to the theory of tradition. "The course of the ancient walls," he writes, "on which hangs the much disputed question of the possible authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre, still remains unsolved. As far as the excavations have as yet gone, they disparage, rather than confirm, the alleged proof that the walls excluded the site from their compass."

A suggestion has occurred, while writing this article, which we volunteer for the consideration of those who have so trustfully rested their faith on "the traditions of the Church." That to "save the credit" of their Church "for the last fifteen hundred years," as now imperiled, it would be a safer position to occupy, and would better correspond with facts as they are found in this age, for them to assume the more tenable ground, that the several churches in Palestine, at Nazareth, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and on Olivet, which are ascribed to the pious and venerable Helena, were originally designed to commemorate the several *facts* indicated by them, rather than the specific *localities* of the events they were designed to honor.

DR. ROBINSON ON MR. WILLIAMS' THEORY.

The second journey of the Rev. Edward Robinson

and Rev. Eli Smith into the Holy Land, was made in the spring of 1852. No one could have been so well chosen as a companion for travel and research in Palestine, as the Rev. Eli Smith, then an American missionary at Beirut. His long residence in Syria, and perfect command of the Arabic language, as well as familiarity with Oriental customs, contributed essentially to the success of Dr. Robinson's object.

The elaborated theory of the Rev. George Williams for the line of the second wall, had been published; and Drs. Robinson and Smith had the opportunity of a re-examination of the whole related subject in the light of Mr. Williams' book, the assumptions of which were ably refuted.

It is interesting to notice how remarkably the recent explorations of the London Society have sustained the views of Dr. Robinson. In regard to the old gate, near the bazaars, which Mr. Williams regarded as the Gate Gennath, and, which Captain Warren, on its examination, tells us is a comparatively modern structure, Dr. Robinson made the conclusive suggestion that to place the Gate Gennath at the southern end of the bazaars would leave fully half of the entire length of the old north wall of Zion unprotected by the second wall. Other objections are also pertinently urged. It proposes a direct line for the wall, while Josephus requires a circuitous route; it leaves the pool of Hezekiah outside the city; it reduces the space enclosed to a narrow strip, about equal to the Harem

area. And, still further, this wall, built for defence, would thus be carried along midway upon a declivity, so as to be overlooked and commanded on the west by higher ground on every part. This last suggestion, we have long assumed, was entirely fatal to the traditional theory. Such a line could only be advocated in the interest of the Holy Sepulchre.

The vital question of the line of the second wall of Josephus, early engaged the attention of our countrymen on their first visit in 1838. The topography of the scene was fully and carefully inspected. Dr. Robinson writes: "After examining all the circumstances repeatedly upon the spot, and, as I hope, without prejudice, the minds of both my companion and myself were forced to the conviction that the hypothesis, which makes the second wall so to run as to exclude the alleged site of the Holy Sepulchre, is, on topographical grounds, untenable and impossible." Again, he writes: "In every view which I have been able to take, both topographical and historical, I am led irresistibly to the conclusion that the Golgotha and Tomb, now shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, are not upon the real places of the Crucifixion and Resurrection of our Lord."

In making the circuit of the present walls of the city of Jerusalem, they found their entire length to be two and a-half miles. In their examination of the Damascus Gate and wall adjacent, two ancient guard-rooms were discovered, one on each side of the gate,

built in, or upon the wall, the lower tiers of beveled stones, in their original position, and undisturbed.

Dr. Barclay, in his volume entitled "The City of the Great King" (p. 132), has a well-delineated drawing, or view, of one of these rooms. It exhibits the peculiarity of ancient Jewish mural structures. Dr Barclay remarks: "The very ancient, massive, and characteristically Jewish remains, found in the two towers on each side of the Damascus Gate, indisputably indicate that spot as a portion of the 'second wall.' The resemblance between the architecture of the outer temple wall by Solomon and the lower portions and sides of the Damascus Gate, is very striking—they are the works of the same age and of one common system. The Gate of Damascus is, without doubt, identical with the 'old gate' of Nehemiah."

Williams, referring to the two chambers which belong to the ancient gate-towers, speaks of the stones as "Cyclopean." More than a score of years since, we enjoyed a privilege, for which thousands have fruitlessly sighed, of examining Jerusalem and other adjacent localities, with an interest and care that few other places on the earth could awaken. We lodged, for some two weeks, on the Akra ridge, near to the Latin Convent, that vicinity being the highest ground within the city walls. Our dwelling was almost immediately west of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Olivet and the Mosque of Omar, as well as the Grotto of Jeremiah, were in full view from our dome-room on

the housetop. So rapidly does the Akra ridge fall off on the east that we quite looked down upon the great dome of the church, only a few hundred feet from us. We noted the fact, and subsequently wrote: "We do not see how any unbiased and intelligent individual could look on this topographical scene, presented before him in all its reality, and yet believe that a wall for defence would ever have been run by any sane man along the valley north of Zion, so as to exclude the site of the church." (*Oriental and Sacred Scenes*. Page 251.)

In all these subsequent and fleeting years, we have studied the subject with increasing interest. To aid our recollection of the scene, we have retained in our study a gem daguerreotype view of Jerusalem, on a large metal plate. It was taken on the Mount of Olives, not far from opposite the temple area, and presents to the eye the largest part of the city, as now enclosed, with an extended region of country beyond the western wall. On this view, the various buildings and ridges, with their relative depressions and elevations are perfectly portrayed. We may add, the relation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the higher part of the Akra ridge, on its west, is most obvious and distinctly seen.

MR. FERGUSSON'S HYPOTHESIS.

Mr. James Fergusson, F.R.A.S., a distinguished architect and topographer of London, visited Pales-

tine some twenty years since. His interesting and very intelligent work on the "Ancient Topography of Jerusalem," has been before the reading public several years, and has been appended to the article *Jerusalem*, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Mr. Fergusson has since made a second visit to Jerusalem, and is reported to re-assert all that he had previously written in regard to the sacred localities. He agrees generally with Dr. Robinson in his theory of the line of the second wall on the western and northern sides of the city, as unquestionably enclosing the site of the Holy Sepulchre. On its southern side, he conducts the wall so as to exclude, at least, one half of the present Harem area. He leaves outside of the wall, the site of the Mosque of Omar. His statement is, "that the building now known to Christians as the Mosque of Omar, but, by Moslems, called the Dome of the Rock, is the identical church which Constantine erected over the rock which contained the tomb of Christ." This he maintains on various grounds. The architecture of the building, he states, is not Saracenic but Byzantine. It is essentially a tomb-building, similar in form and arrangement to the tomb of the Emperor Constantine at Rome.

"The site of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre," he remarks, "is so obviously at variance with the facts of the Bible narrative, that almost all the best qualified investigators have assumed that the means did not exist for ascertaining the localities cor-

rectly when the church was built. The arguments in favor of the present localities being the correct ones, are well summed up by the Rev. Geo. Williams in his work on 'The Holy City': Nothing can exceed the ingenuity of the various hypotheses that are brought forward to explain away the admitted difficulties in the case."

OTTO THENIUS.

While preparing this paper, we have been much interested in finding that a German author, Otto Thenius, arrived, several years ago, at the same conclusion in regard to the place of Crucifixion as that which we are aiming to establish. Writing of the Holy Sepulchre, Ritter (vol. 4, p. 128) remarks: "It is a little surprising to find that the ecclesiastics have covered both the place of Crucifixion and Burial with a single roof, and that a mere partition separates the portion which commemorates the place of Jesus' death from that which is said to have received his remains. Struck by this, Thenius has endeavored to show, and has displayed great learning and acuteness in the effort, that the situation of Golgotha was separated some distance from the burial-place, and that it was in front of the Damascus Gate *on the skull-shaped hill already alluded to in which the Cave of Jeremiah is found.*"

It is to be regretted that the views expressed by

Thenius on this interesting topic have not been reproduced by Ritter, or his translator.

"East of the Damascus Gate," Ritter remarks, "and the so-called Cave of Jeremiah, which, although so called, has no connection with the prophet, the wall makes a well-defined bend and runs above the perpendicular wall of rock, hewn by hand and exhibiting the same stratification as that of the opposite wall, in which the Grotto of Jeremiah is seen. The height to which the rock formation is carried is the same on both, and they were unquestionably both connected."

On page 181, Ritter observes: "Of the Cave of Jeremiah very little is known with certainty. It seems as though it must have been originally intended as a resting-place for the dead. Being used as a Mohammedan burying-place, it has not been examined with care." Subsequent to his writing the above, the cave has been frequently visited.

OTHER AUTHORITIES.

We find in Van De Velde's narrative an interesting statement apposite to our subject. In the progress of examining the city barrier, "descending we came to the Damascus Gate," he remarks, "nineteen hundred and ninety feet from the north-west angle, and here we cross the highway to Shechem. It is the finest-looking of all the city gates and strongest in appearance. Formerly, at the time of the crusades, it was the St.

Stephen's Gate, which it was thought better afterwards to place on the east side of the city. Your attention is now directed to a broad, rocky height on the left, where the so-called Grotto of Jeremiah is found, being the place where tradition will have it that the Prophet wrote the Lamentations. The position of this rock, at no great distance from the wall—five hundred feet, more or less—attracted me. *Much about the same must have been the appearance of the place of a skull.* (Although I had no thought of looking for it here.) On a closer inspection of the wall, at this point, we again see parts of it composed of ancient stones, not only retaining their ancient position, but founded also on massive natural rock, which has been wrought with hammer and chisel in order to make it suit its place. This then, say you, must have been part of the original wall of the date of the kings of Judah. Precisely so; and all the learned theories and hypotheses on the subject of the wall of Jerusalem are not sufficient to deprive me of this conviction. This is the wall, called by Josephus the second wall, and in all probability the same that went around Jerusalem, on this side, in the days of our Lord."

Describing the line of the second wall, in view of the statements of Josephus, the Rev. J. L. Porter, D.D., (Hand-book, vol. 1, p. 100,) alludes to the ancient chambers at the Damascus Gate and adds: "*there cannot be a question that this is the site of one*

of the *gate-ways of the second wall*, and that the chambers within, were the ancient guard-houses."

We may be allowed to quote again from our own words of twenty years ago. In our account of making the circuit of the city wall, we wrote, (*Oriental and Sacred Scenes*, p. 262,) "After passing the depression at the Damascus Gate, we came to a wide, and deep excavation in the lime-stone rock. On the left side was the rock elevation in which is the traditional grotto, or cave, of Jeremiah. On the right side, the city wall is built from the excavation, the side of which forms part of the barrier. I paused here with great interest to survey the scene. After a careful examination of the elevations, and curvatures of the strata on both sides of this remarkable and ancient excavation and finding them perfectly to correspond, I entertained no doubt that I had before me a clearly identified point on the northern line of the second wall." "Subsequent examinations only confirmed my convictions of the correctness of my first impressions, on this most interesting topic, and its very interesting localities. We feel confident that this excavation dates back to the time of Hezekiah, and that here much of the material was produced, with which to construct the second wall."

Many years after our visit, the Rev. Wm. M. Thomson, D.D., of the Syrian Mission, published his volumes, "*The Land and the Book.*" We here introduce as a pertinent extract from his pen, (vol. 2, p. 490,) "The so-called Grotto of Jeremiah is beneath the high Tell

(hill) of Ez-Zahera, about forty rods to the north-west of the Damascus Gate. This tell no doubt once formed the termination of the ridge (of Akra?) and the rock between it, and the wall of the city, has been quarried away. Nor will the magnitude of this work stumble any one who examines the vast subterranean quarries within and beneath the city, the opening to which is nearly south of Jeremiah's Cave. The high perpendicular cuttings which sustain the wall are directly opposite to similar cuttings over the cave, and each is about fifty feet high. The yawning cavern of Jeremiah extends under the cliff about one hundred feet—under the floor of the cavern are vast cisterns. In any other part of the world it would be considered a remarkable work, but here, in the vicinity of such excavations as undermine the whole ridge within the city, it dwindles into insignificance."

We would here remark that this wonderful cavern under the city was not known to exist at the time of our visit. We have elsewhere stated that its entrance was accidentally discovered by Dr. Barclay in 1854.

We find a description of the Grotto of Jeremiah in Mr. Williams' book (*Holy City*, vol. 2, p. 417). "In the rocky wall facing the yawning cave, an uncouth passage conducts to a double cave, disposed one above another, and excavated with considerable care. The elegant vault of the upper cave is supported by a central pillar of Gothic character, near which an opening in the floor communicates with a flight of steps cut in

the rock, conducting to the lower cave. This is much more spacious than the upper, but its vault is similarly supported by a square colossal pillar, whose massive base stands in the water which covers the bottom of the cave. The vaults and pillars are executed in the native rock, but are thickly plastered as are the walls of the chambers. I rather connect the cistern, which is said to communicate with the Cotton Grotto with the waterworks of Hezekiah."

"THE COTTON GROTTTO" referred to in the above quotation is a name given to the vast cavern under the city, extending from near the Damascus Gate quite down to the Temple area, being the same spoken of in our extract from "The Land and the Book." The existence of this cavern appears to have been known to the Mohammedan government for some centuries. It is suggested that the monument of Alexander Jannæus, B.C. 81, was at the Grotto of Jeremiah.

On learning that our friend and former pastor, the Rev. C. S. Robinson, D.D., then ministering to the congregation of the American Chapel in Paris, designed to make a second visit to Palestine, we addressed a letter to him, in the early part of the last year, expressing our convictions on the subject before us and requesting his careful examination of the locality about the Grotto of Jeremiah. We are permitted to present from his own pen, the results of his observation, recorded while in Jerusalem, with all the incidents of topography before him. From Constantinople, in April of last

year, Dr. Robinson wrote, in reply to our letter, thus : "When in Jerusalem, I re-read your letter more than once. It so happened that our tents were once pitched near to the Damascus Gate, and once on the Mount of Olives in full view of it. Several of our party (composed of a New England minister, a college professor, a theological student and others) went with me to the Grotto of Jeremiah, and all of them were decidedly interested in your speculation, as to that spot for Calvary. I must say, I was impressed beyond anything else by this thought. *That hill is precisely like a skull.* There is the rounded top and the very eyeless hole for a socket. The location, too, is all that could be wished. I am amazed that none of the professional topographers have seemed to mention the resemblance or advance the conjecture." He promised to make further statements in his correspondence with "The Christian Union," which owing to the French war was delayed, but was published in that paper on the 29th of October. From this correspondence, we feel at liberty to make free extracts as we proceed :

"In my last letter, I mentioned that while we were seated in the upper part of what is now called the Church of the Ascension, on Mount Olivet, our attention was arrested by a curious conformation of the ground near the spot where our tents were pitched. What we saw was this: In the immediate neighborhood of the Damascus Gate, the yellow wall of the

city appeared to be carried steeply up over what seemed a quarried hill, through the strata of which the path was cut, leading on the outside around to the main road. So deep was the excavation that the bottom of it, the beaten track, was hidden from our view. But we could see the bare face of the precipice opposite the entrance, and in the rock plainly mark an extensive hole. About this the surface of the hill had so arranged itself that its rounded edge drew against the sky the almost exact outline of *a human skull*. It was a side view, the hole serving as an eyeless socket, the forehead facing towards the West. It did not need my impulsive exclamation to suggest this likeness to our party. More than one remarked it instantly. *From that point of view* the resemblance was most striking.

“In all the books this familiar locality is called the Grotto of Jeremiah; but curiosity is entirely baffled in searching for even a plausible tradition to connect it in any way with the name of that prophet. The cavern, whose black entrance we saw, is full a hundred feet deep. The cliff is shorn straight down, as if cut with a chisel; and presents a perpendicular façade of fifty feet high. Close by it are many graves, and underneath the so-called grotto are vast cisterns of pure water. The whole hill-side is venerable and majestic. It looks like one of the oldest and most imperishable landmarks of that suburb, and could not fail to have been from time immemorial a notable

place to all who went out or in by the gate leading towards the North."

ST. STEPHEN'S GATE.

An incidental evidence that the Northern, or Damascus, Gate of the second wall has ever occupied its present location is found in the early tradition respecting the martyrdom of Stephen.

As early as A. D. 415, the assumed miracle of the recovery of the bones of Stephen was announced. The current tradition of the time was that he was taken out of the city a stadium from the Damascus Gate and there stoned, and this was the current belief for more than ten centuries. "It appears that in the twelfth century, the present Damascus Gate went by the name of St. Stephen's, and the only large buildings near it that are spoken of were the Church of St. Etienne (Stephen) and the Asnerie." (Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 216.)

The Empress Eudocia erected, about A. D. 460, a splendid church on the spot indicated as the place of his death. She was subsequently buried within this church. Independent of the earlier tradition, may it not well be assumed as a legitimate inference that the ruins of the old gate existed at the period in question? The Northern Gate was long designated as "St. Stephen's Gate." What more probable than that the betrayers and murderers of the Just One, who a few weeks before had led out Jesus of Nazareth for cruci-

fixion, should now lead this fearless, and eloquent disciple of the new heresy, out of the same gate to be summarily stoned near the base of the Kranion-Hill, where the Master met his death on the Cross.

In this relation of the ancient Northern Gate and wall, the statement of Aristeas, a priest of the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who visited Jerusalem, B. C. 285, is apposite.

Ritter quotes from Dr. Robinson, Kraft and others, in relation to the water supply of the Temple and the hidden channels by which it was conveyed." (Ritter, vol. 4, p. 92.) "Aristeas," he remarks, "goes on to state what he has learned regarding the aqueducts employed to conduct the water." "More than four stadia from the temple and outside of the wall," says Aristeas, "I was bidden to kneel and listen; I heard the sound of running-water." Ritter goes on to say, "The cistern at the Damascus Gate is about four stadia from the temple, and Kraft does not doubt that Aristeas was conducted to this point and that he heard that rushing sound, which is heard even now, at times." There is no other location, to which the remark of Aristeas could be referred so appropriately, and, therefore, in this incidental record of the Egyptian priest, we gather a new testimony to the line of the second wall on its northern side.

THE TRADITIONAL SITE TESTED.

Our subject has already led us on to such unexpected length, that many items of related interest must

be omitted by us, and referred to more able pens to prosecute. We have reached a position where the theory of tradition, and the theory submitted are to be weighed in the unerring balance of Scripture. "To the law and the testimony" we make our appeal.

We, therefore, now recur to the Scriptural requirements already stated. These must be met and satisfied in the True Calvary. And first we raise the inquiry how, and in which of the enumerated particulars, does the traditional locality correspond to these plain demands?

FIRST. *The place of crucifixion was without the walls of Jerusalem.*—For the reasons adduced, we cannot believe that the traditional site was "without the walls of the city," at the period of the Crucifixion. Topography is against such a belief: diligent search for wall foundations mutely utters the same voice of condemnation.

SECOND. *The place of crucifixion was nigh unto the City.*—If our first reply is correct, it is not pertinent to speak of the place as "nigh unto the city," when, in fact, the traditional site was enclosed by the city walls.

THIRD. *The place of crucifixion was known under the general designation of Kranion.*—The traditionists fail to point any elevation, or formation, entitled to the designation *Kranion*.

FOURTH. *The place of crucifixion was nigh to a leading thoroughfare to and from the City.*—It

is quite impossible to conceive of the site as "on a leading thoroughfare of the city." The Damascus Gate was the great outlet of the city on the north. That a leading gate existed near to the citadel cannot be doubted.

FIFTH. *The place of crucifixion was eminently conspicuous.*—That in any relation the place could have been "eminently conspicuous," is a most absurd predicate, even on Mr. Williams' theory of the line of the second wall. The site must have been quite under the walls on its east, and quite under the high ridge of Akra on its west.

SIXTH. *It was a place nigh unto Sepulchres and Gardens.*—That the site could have been a place for "tombs and gardens" is too absurd to be refuted.

We stated in the propositions with which we commenced our article, *that no sophistry or interposed traditional authority or belief must be allowed to evade the plain demands of the Written Word.* To us it seems most conclusive, that, weighed in the balance, tradition is found wanting here, as it is on many other localities.

Our specific object has been to suggest a site, which may reasonably be accepted as the true Calvary. Topography, we feel assured, utters no ambiguous words of rejection to the traditional site of Calvary, while it indicates a location eminently meeting all the demands of Scripture.

OUR HYPOTHESIS TESTED.

Let us once more make our appeal to the decisions of the word of God :

FIRST. "*The place of crucifixion was without the Gate of Jerusalem.*"—That the isolated skull-shaped hill, to which we have so often directed the attention of the reader, fully meets this demand, will not be questioned. Of the new tomb of Joseph, the rich and honorable Counsellor of Arimathea, in which the body, when taken from the cross, was laid, we have said nothing in this connection. We are simply told by the evangelists, that the tomb was nigh unto the place of crucifixion, in a garden, and outside of the city walls. We have shown that our Kranion-hill was in the vicinity of the tombs of the rich.

SECOND. *The place of crucifixion "was nigh unto the City."*—No additional evidence can be reasonably demanded to prove that the second wall, at, and adjacent to the location of the present Damascus Gate, occupied the same line as does the present wall and gate. *The walls at the Damascus Gate, once clearly proved to be on, and, in fact, a part of the original second wall, it follows, beyond a peradventure, that the wide and deep chasm between the Grotto of Jeremiah and the city wall must be accepted as an essential part of the original design of the military engineers of King Hezekiah.* Our Kranion-hill is as ancient as that second wall; and so we aver that our site was out of, but "nigh unto," the city. We may add that it was

nigh unto the place of trial and final dismissal to the cross, being less than half a mile from Antonia. Of the place of crucifixion and the tomb, Dr. Edward Robinson remarks: (Biblical Researches, vol. ii., p. 80) "We know nothing more from the Scriptures than that they were near each other, without the gate, and nigh to the city, in a frequented spot. This would favor the conclusion that the place was probably upon a great road, leading from one of the gates; and such a spot would only be found upon the western or northern sides of the city, on the roads leading towards Joppa or Damascus."

THIRD. *The hill is noticeably skull-shaped—a Kranion.*—Rev. Dr. W. M. Thomson called it a high tell. "This tell, no doubt, once formed the termination of the ridge." Van De Velde says of it: "*Much about the same* must have been the appearance of the place of a skull." Otto Thenius, we have seen in our quotation from Ritter, so designated it, and assumed it as the place of crucifixion—"a skull-shaped hill." We may introduce another quotation, from the letter of Rev. Dr. C. S. Robinson: "All this lay of the land *is as old as any part of the city itself*. The conformation of that "skull" must have existed just so for ages. All scholars are agreed that the rock, cut through at that time for the path, is the original base of the wall. The structures, therefore, are almost unbroken. Wall and hill together form a perpendicular face of seventy or eighty feet high. The cliff directly

facing the wall, with its rounded cranium and its black socket, suggesting a skull now so plainly, has been there in all the years to make the same suggestion.

"There is no other spot anywhere in the vicinity that has even traditional claims to respect. Surely, nobody will stay a moment to mention the absurd invention of the monks in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, who, because they have no foothold on the floor of the edifice, are constrained to declare, as one winds up their ridiculous staircase, that the original hill has been graded away, and what they now show us is the locality of Calvary up in the air! Here is a place that might easily merit that singular name—GOLGOTHA."

FOURTH. *The place of crucifixion was nigh to one of the leading thoroughfares of the City.*—Crucifixion, by the Romans, was outside of the city (*post urbem*), on some public road or conspicuous place, like the Campus Martius. Constantine abolished this inhuman mode of executing criminals.

This hill is nigh unto the great northern thoroughfare of ancient, as well as modern, Jerusalem. The Gate Ephraim, or the Damascus Gate, was ever, as now, the principal gate of the city. So Ritter describes it. Any individual who has explored the land need not be informed that the regions north and northwest of Jerusalem were always the productive, and so the populous portions of the country. This is stated by Josephus in glowing and extravagant terms. It is

worthy of notice, that, in no instance of our Lord's earthly ministry, is he reported to have gone south of Jerusalem.

"The great northern road," says Dr. Robinson, (Biblical Researches, vol. i, p. 536,) "is unquestionably the same that it ever was, the nature of the ground not admitting the supposition of any material change." No fact more arrests the attention of the traveler in Palestine, than that of the unchanged paths pursued, which always had regard to supply of water at resting or camping ground. "Ask for the *old paths*, where is the good way, and walk therein." The Ishmaelites, (Gen. xviii. 28,) who purchased Joseph, were on the old caravan track from Damascus to Egypt, which has been followed ever since. Simon, the Cyrenian, was evidently met at the Northern Gate of the city, as he came out of the country. "And led him out to crucify him. And they compel one Simon, a Cyrenian, who passed by, *coming out of the country*, to bear his cross." (Mark xv., 20, 21.) There can be no doubt that the Jaffa Gate has ever been the place of ingress, and egress, for the south and southwest, as the Damascus Gate has been for the north. No highway ever existed over the high ridge west of the Holy Sepulchre.

FIFTH. *The place of crucifixion was eminently conspicuous.*—This hill is strikingly so. Few spots are more so, viewed from any part of the city. We need not summon proof; the fact is patent to all who have seen Jerusalem with open eyes.

Rev. C. S. Robinson, D.D., in his letter referred to, says: "This spot *answers to all the needs* of the sacred narrative. It is outside of the city, and yet nigh to it. It is a high, conspicuous place, at no very great distance from the governor's house. The way to it would be pretty much along the streets of the city, where the crowds would be met, the Daughters of Jerusalem thronging Jesus as he passed. It is situated precisely where He, sinking under His cross, would most need help; the hill in front of the Damascus Gate is so steep that the path winds in order to get up to the top of the knoll; and there is where the countryman, Simon the Cyrenian, would be caught just as he was entering, and forced to aid in carrying the cross up the slope."

SIXTH. *The place of crucifixion was nigh unto Gardens and Sepulchres.*—That this hill was in the vicinity of gardens and many ancient tombs, there can be no doubt. Josephus agrees with this perfectly. Dr. Robinson, in his "Physical Geography of Palestine," says: "The region here around the head of the Kidron is rocky, and full of excavated tombs all the way down to Jerusalem." Dr. Porter says: "The number of rock tombs at this place, and the extent and beauty of some of them, impress the stranger with the wealth and splendor of the ancient Jewish capital." (Hand-book, vol. i., p. 93.)

CONCLUSIONS.

It is spoken of disparagingly by Dr. Lange and others, that the opponents of the traditional Calvary have not indicated any other location for the crucifixion scenes. The allegation is not strictly true. For the place of burial, Mr. Fergusson proposed the dome of the rock, a score of years since, and fortified his hypothesis with a skillfully-constructed argument.

We have now proposed a site more in accordance with scriptural intimations. That travelers and topographers have not even attempted to discover a site, and especially that this Grotto of Jeremiah has not attracted attention, we can only explain on the ground that too much deference has been paid to the hasty assumption of Drs. Robinson and Smith, as expressed in these words: "If it be asked, Where, then, are the true sites of Golgotha and the Sepulchre to be sought? I must reply that probably all search can only be in vain." (Biblical Researches, vol. ii., p. 80.)

In a letter which is before us, we have a notable illustration of the pertinence of our remark just made. It is from a venerable and distinguished clergyman of Boston, the Rev. Rufus Anderson, D.D.

"I thank you," he writes, "for the personal items you give me, and for your suggestions with regard to the *True Calvary*. When I walked out of the Damascus Gate with Dr. Eli Smith in 1845, *I pointed to that hill as the probable spot*. He reminded me that

there was no mention of a *hill* in the account of the Crucifixion, *and I thought no more about it.*" He adds, "These subjects, my dear sir, will interest us in the heavenly world."

Thus we have now reached the goal proposed on our early pages, and toward which we have toiled under the pressure of various ills.

Obscured in the darkness of the mediæval centuries, the scene of the Crucifixion is yet of unfading interest to every age.

If we shall have, in this unprofessional effort, subserved the cause of truth in any measure, or if it has been our privilege to shed any light on the locality of that grand event—of all others the most momentous in its influences and consequences to human character and destiny—we would be devoutly thankful to our Heavenly Father.

123 WILLOW STREET, BROOKLYN, *May*, 1871.

[It is proper that we should say, that the Map of Jerusalem, that accompanies this, is a Photo-lithographic copy, with a few changes, of the Map in the Hand-Book of Syria and Palestine, by Dr. Porter, published in London.]

APPENDIX.

T W I L I G H T ;

OR,

SUGGESTIONS RELATING TO THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD.

THE lifeless body of Jesus was taken from the cross on Calvary, and laid in the new sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, before sunset on Friday, the seventh day of April, and he rose early, we think, on the instant of sun rising, on Sunday, April ninth A.D. 30, according to the best chronologists.

Of the incidents of time as related by Mark and John, our object is to harmonize the two accounts by the statement of some facts, in regard to twilight in Palestine.

We quote from each of the Evangelists.

Mark xvi. 1, 2. "And when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James and Salome had bought sweet spices, etc.; and very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre, *at the rising of the sun.*"

John xx. 1. "The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene *early, when it was dark*, unto the sepulchre, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre."

The first day of the week commenced at sunrise. In view of the apparent discrepancy of these accounts, the Rev. Dr. Robinson remarks (English Harmony of the Gospel, p. 210): "It is no doubt true that more of these

apparent difficulties (of harmonizing the accounts of the four Evangelists) are found in this short portion of the Gospels, than in all the rest. Each of the sacred writers follows an eclectic method. Thus many of the minor and connecting facts have not been preserved. Had we all the facts, we may well rest assured, that this part of the sacred history, would at once prove to be as exact, as consistent, and as complete, as any, and every portion of the Word of God." We think if the good doctor had studied the *facts of twilight*, his difficulties would have been solved.

Andrews, in his "Life of Our Lord," has presented to his readers condensed statements of the views of ten harmonists, and commentators, on these and kindred texts, from Lightfoot to Robinson, besides his own. They all fail to meet and reconcile the difficulty.

As a solution, we propose for consideration some statements, which we believe will greatly relieve, if they do not fully remove, the seeming discrepancy between the accounts of Mark and John; observing first, that persons living in the temperate and higher latitudes, where the morning sun is heralded by twilight, hours before it rises above the horizon, and where twilight lingers, hours after it sinks below our view at evening, can hardly conceive the almost instant transition from darkness to day, and day to night, at the rising and setting of the sun, in low and tropical latitudes, where it may be said, with slight allowance, that they have no twilight.

While sojourning for health in the island of St. Croix, many years since, we were often surprised in our afternoon drives, at the almost immediate closing in of the darkness of night upon us, at the setting of the sun. In the reminiscence of that experience, while writing our

article on "The True Site of Calvary," two thoughts, kindred to our topic, occurred in relation to the resurrection scenes.

First. It is a warranted conclusion that, at, and before, the period of the crucifixion, as now, the Oriental custom of opening the gates of cities at sunrise, and closing them at sunset, was the custom in Jerusalem. This ancient practice is abundantly stated, or implied, in various parts of the Old Testament.

Joshua ii. 5-7. "And it came to pass about the time of shutting of the gate when it was dark, etc."

Judges ix. 33-35. "And it shall be in the morning, as soon as the sun is up, thou shalt rise early, and set upon the city."

Here, early and sunrise, are identified. Abimelech secreted his troops under the walls of Shechem, over the night, that they might rush into the gates as soon as they were opened at sunrise. We need not introduce other quotations.

"Regarded as positions of great importance, the gates of cities were carefully guarded and closed at nightfall." (Rev. H. W. Phillot, in Smith's Bible Dic.)

Our *second*, and much more important reflection was, that at Jerusalem, as in all countries of low latitudes, there is comparatively no twilight; as we have remarked, darkness quickly intervenes after the setting of the sun, and in like manner in the morning, the stars shine in brilliancy until the sun, as it were, rushes into view "as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, or a strong man to run a race," and the darkness flies away.

The point we make in view of these facts is, that the resurrection scenes were so *nearly related in time*, as properly to be regarded as simultaneous. They could mainly

have transpired within five minutes of time. We have special reference to the earlier events. Our theory lays the scene at, and near the Damascus Gate. Our site for the true Calvary is not two minutes walk from that gate, and the tomb "was near at hand," very likely at the northern base of the hill, once the northern end of Bezetha.

The earthquake, the angels at the tomb, the resurrection—*Anastasis*, the risen sun, the opened city gate probably hastened by the confusion and alarm occasioned by the tremulous earth, the two Mary's at the tomb, just in advance of the other women, having met on their way, between the now opened gate and tomb, the terrified and fleeing watch as they went into the city.—Matt. xxviii. 11. All this could have been compressed within five minutes of time.

The devoted women had, we may well assume, left their habitual or temporary homes in different parts of the city, "early, while it was yet dark," purposing to pass through the gate at the earliest allowable moment.

In regard to the *Jewish day*, Adam Clarke, commenting on Matthew xxviii. 1, remarks: "The end of the Jewish Sabbath was the rising of the sun on the first day of the week, when the day began. Their artificial day began at the sun rising, and ended at the setting of the sun, all the balance of the twenty-four hours was night."

Dr. R. Jamieson, of Glasgow, in his article on "Hours," in "Alexander's Kitto," vol. ii., p. 332, writing of the Jewish hours, remarks: "Their day was reckoned from sunrise to sunset. At the equinoxes their hours were exactly the same length as ours. Their first hour being our seven o'clock. In midsummer the sun rises in Judea at our five o'clock, and sets at seven. In like manner in winter the sun rises at seven, and sets at five o'clock."

R. Stuart Pool, of the British Museum, in his article on "Chronology," in "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible," remarks: "In Judea, *where the duration of twilight* is very short at all times, the most natural division would be at sunset. The natural day probably was held to commence at sunrise."

Without intimating the object we had in view, we not long since inquired of a recent traveler in Palestine, distinguished for his careful and intelligent observation, whether he had noticed anything peculiar or remarkable in regard to twilight while pursuing his second journey in the Orient. He replied in the most enthusiastic terms, and proceeded to give a graphic account of his witnessing a sunrise as he lay on his bed at an early morning hour in Jerusalem. He was first attracted by the brilliancy of one of the planets (Saturn or Venus, both were morning stars at the time) as it rose successively above the bars nailed horizontally across his window opening; while thus absorbed the more refulgent beams of the sun rushed into view, and hid the lesser light of the planet he had just so much admired. Before he could arouse his traveling companions to rise and witness a part of the gorgeous scene, the light of day had fully shed its glories over the land. The rising of the sun on the two succeeding mornings was noticed as alike impressive.

A distinguished clergyman of a neighboring city, who has spent a number of months of the last year in Bible lands, writes to us: "I was a diligent and delighted observer of the going forth of the morning in eastern climes; I carried in memory a passage of some writer that had fallen under my eye in the reading of boyhood, 'the sun rushes into the sky with the glorious suddenness of an eastern dawn.' I was glad to find that it was not

all poetry, and that there is little or no twilight in those countries. I remember well a sunrise that I witnessed in the valley of Jordan. Our camp was pitched at the Fountain of Elisha. The sun seemed to spring in from behind the mountains of Moab at a single bound. I have reviewed the passages in the Evangelists, and it seems to me that this suggestion of yours completely harmonizes the two expressions 'at the sunrising' (of Mark), and 'while it was yet dark' (of John). The two are so nearly coincident in nature that the discrepancy would be fully accounted for in the time occupied by the women in walking from their lodgings to the gates of the city. I am greatly obliged to you myself for your suggestion, and I trust it will help others to a correct and intelligent reading of the resurrection story."

The Rev. Albert Bushnell of the Gaboon Mission, under date of December 27, 1870, writes: "How different these short days and long twilight from what we have in Africa. There while it is yet dark and no intimation of the dawning of day, the glimmering in the East appears, followed in a few moments by the rising of the sun in all its glory; so may the dawning of the Sun of Righteousness be upon the moral darkness of that vast land."

A distinguished Hebrew professor and Biblical expositor, as well as a traveler in the Orient, writes to us: "I am deeply interested in your Biblical notices. Your suggestion is ingenious and well fortified by the facts. I wish I had time to write more fully my views from this point of observation."

We are aware that the words "*in the twilight*," are several times met in the Old Testament Scriptures, and that two or more Hebrew words are so rendered. Probably the passage 2 Kings vii. 5, 7, is the best sample text to

examine. Any one who has a Hebrew Bible and Lexicon, and with us, has acquired but an A, B, C knowledge of their use, can easily discover that our translators might with entire propriety have expressed the sense of the Hebrew words which they have rendered, "in the twilight," in the fifth and seventh verses of the chapter, by the words "*in the early darkness*," the Heb-root is the word for nocturnal birds, such as the owl, and well symbolizes the time of the panic and flight of the Syrians. To make the record consistent with the topography of the scene, it requires such a rendering.

The site of Samaria is one of the finest in Palestine. (See note at end of this article.) The hill is oblong in form, its length extending from east to west. It is entirely isolated by the valleys around it, above which it rises in height at its crown three hundred feet. In the west it commands a fine view of a part of the Sharon plain and Mediterranean Sea.

The traveler whose feet have walked over "the hill Samaria," and with his open Bible there pondered the scene, narrated in the seventh chapter of 2 Kings, may well know that the siege must have been broken up, after the darkness of evening had so fully set in, as to obscure any distant object, as the hill in all its parts has a commanding view of the valleys surrounding it. The flight of the Syrians would have been discovered at once had it occurred at what we call twilight.

We suggest for the consideration of scholars whether many related passages in the Old Testament, such as Joshua ii. 5, Judges v. 3 and ix. 33, 2 Samuel xxiii. 4, Isaiah lviii. 8, Hosea vi. 5, and Psalms civ. 22, may not find a new shade of interpretation by them, in this twilight view, of which, our excellent translators, living as

they did in comparatively high northern latitudes, were quite unaware: that we have from them the best possible renderings of scholars of that age who had never "read the book in the light of the land," there can be no reasonable doubt.

[*Note to preceding article.*]

SAMARIA AS RELATED TO JOHN THE BAPTIST.

ON the precipitous eastern brow of the "Hill Samaria" there stands one of the most interesting ruins of the kind in Palestine. It is the roofless lower walls of the Church of St. John the Baptist, which remains quite entire, and is occupied by the Arabs for their village Mosque. In the recollection of their bold attempt to rob our party, while examining the interior, we retain a rather vivid impression of the place.

The church occupies the site of the Grotto, or traditional tomb of John the Baptist, at which spot the early tradition is, that his disciples buried the martyr, as related in Mark vi. 29.

The edifice belonged to the period of the Crusaders, and was, doubtless, built by the Knights of St. John, in honor of their patron Saint. There are evidences that a church may have existed there long before the time of the Crusaders.

The tradition that the Baptist was buried there dates back to before the time of Jerome, who speaks of Samaria, as having the sepulchre of John, and states that when Herodias got the head of the Baptist, she drew out the tongue and thrust it through with her bodkin.

The existence of the tradition is evidence that some truth in regard to the imprisonment and beheading of John may properly be traced to this locality.

To these dim shadowings of an early tradition of the Baptist, we have *two* contemporaneous written accounts by the Evangelists, Matthew and Mark, which, in every essential, perfectly harmonize, and a *third* account, written more than half a century later by Josephus, which, in very important details, entirely disagrees with the accounts of Matthew and Mark. Yet history has strangely adopted the account of the last and ill-advised writer.

The generally received opinion that John was imprisoned and put to death in the Castle of Machaerus (far down on the eastern side of the Dead Sea), rests entirely on the brief and incidental statement of Josephus.

Machaerus, he informs us, was a castle "that lay upon the mountains of Arabia," possessing very great natural advantages for defence.

We propose, for the consideration of professional men, who make Church history a specialty, whether it is not worth the time required, for them to institute a careful examination of the grounds on which history adopted, and continues to sustain, the statement of Josephus, rather than those of Matthew and Mark, in relation to the tragic end of the Baptist.

We wish, however, to make a few statements of the reasons why we cannot, at present, receive the teachings of history as now accepted.

John the Baptist was beheaded, according to the best arranged chronology, in the early part of April, A. D. 29. This was seven years before Josephus was born. His Antiquities were written and published in Rome in the thirteenth year of Domitian, A. D. 93, long after the destruction of the Jewish State by Titus, and we may safely say, *more than fifty years* after the events he incidentally records of John.

The Evangelists, Matthew and Mark, were cotemporaries of, and intimately acquainted with, the facts which they record respecting the Baptist; their accounts were written but a few years subsequent, when all the circumstances were fresh in their memory. The account of Josephus is found in his *Antiquities*, Book XVIII., chap. v., and sec. 1, 2 and 3, which we propose here to condense.

In section 1, he relates the circumstances of the unlawful relations of Herod Antipas with the wife of Philip; Herod's journey to, and return from Rome; the discovery of the intrigue by the wife of Antipas before it had become a public scandal, and so, before John's reproof of Herod; her escape to Machaerus, "*a castle belonging to her father, Aretas*;" the preparation for a war between Herod and Aretas, on account of this and other difficulties; the conflict of the armies, and "destruction" of that of Herod in the battle; Herod's appeal for succor to Tiberius, and the instruction sent to Vitellius, the president of Syria, to march against Aretas. In section 2, Josephus arrests his narrative to say that, "the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John that was called the Baptist." He then gives his version of the cause of imprisonment and death of John, to which we will return after taking up the thread of history in section 3, in which Josephus goes on to state that Vitellius collected an army of two legions and more, of men, to war with Aretas, and proceeded to march his troops through Judea on his way to Arabia. In the mean time, intelligence reached Vitellius, at Jerusalem, of the death of Tiberius, whereupon he recalled his army and retired to Antioch. Tiberius died A. D. 37. This history covers a period of about seven years. We now

return to the reasons Josephus assigns for the act of Herod.

"Herod," he says, "feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it in his power and inclination to raise a rebellion. He therefore thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent the mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it was too late. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, *out of Herod's suspicious temper*, to Machaerus, and was there put to death."

In contrast with this statement of Josephus, we will place that of Mark, chap. vi., from whom we learn: 1st. That Herod appreciated John as "a just and holy man," and was partially reformed by his teachings (ver. 20). 2d. That John was imprisoned at the instigation of Herodias (ver. 17.) 3d. That he was beheaded at the urgent demand of the daughter of Herodias (ver. 24). 4th. That Herod felt very great repugnance to comply with his rash promise, made to the daughter of Herodias, although made in the presence of courtiers, under the sanction of an oath (ver. 26). 5th. The execution was ordered, and the head of the Baptist *immediately produced*, to gratify the morbid desire of a vicious woman (verses 26, 27). 6th. We learn that the guests of this birth-day banquet were the chief officers of Herod's army, and persons of distinction in Galilee (ver. 21).

This whole account is in conflict with what Josephus has said of the reasons which swayed Herod in the commission of his atrocious act, and we may reasonably infer that he was alike in error in regard to the place of imprisonment and execution.

The ground of evidence greatly preponderates against

him as merely historic statements. On Josephus' own showing, there is not the least evidence that Machaerus was, *at any part of the time*, subject to Antipas. To it his wife, the daughter of Aretas, made her escape; and, in stating that fact, Josephus adds the remark, "*which was subject to her father*," who was entirely victorious in the subsequent war, prosecuted largely on her account.

Assuming, as beyond doubt, that the reasons for John's imprisonment are truthfully stated by Matthew and Mark, Machaerus was the last place to which John would have been sent on any conceivable consideration, and the most unlikely one for Herod to hold his birthday feast.

A part of this account of Josephus may have been interpolated, if it were so; he is not responsible for the misstatement; or the single name *Machaerus* may, by accident, have been substituted, by an early transcriber, in place of the name of one of the cities of Galilee. To us a more probable solution is the fact, that John had been put to death by Herod, was known to Josephus. The true reasons for the act were certainly not known to him. He therefore used the freedom of inferring his facts, and chose those which, to him, appeared the most probable—a practice he is supposed to have followed not unfrequently. If it had been true that John had been sent far away out of the country, and there imprisoned, it is very remarkable that so accurate a writer as the Evangelist Luke should not have even alluded to it in his statement. Luke was entirely informed in all such matters, "having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first."

To us it seems most obvious, from the accounts of Matthew and Mark, that John was imprisoned and beheaded on the field of much of his labors—Galilee. His

head was demanded *immediately* by the wretched girl, and was *immediately* produced. Delay would, probably, have been fatal to Herodias—wine was now in, wit and conscience were mainly out—a sober hour, would probably have changed the purpose of Herod.

Thus, from the history so clearly related by Mark, we have little doubt that Herod's nefarious festival was celebrated in the midst of Galilee—either at Sepphoris (a short distance northward from Nazareth), which he had recently walled, and made the metropolis of his Tetrarchy or, at Tiberias, his new and favorite city.

The character of the guests, his chief officers—Galileans—the men of note of the region, then swarming in its population, its towns and cities, on Josephus' testimony elsewhere, we say these, and other considerations, forbid the idea that the feast was celebrated in the distant regions east of the Dead Sea, on the confines of his potent enemy Aretas.

We are aware that Eusebius adopted the account of Josephus in this matter, and, through him, it has come down in history as more reliable than "*Holy Writ*." It is said that Josephus was a favorite writer with Eusebius, who, himself, has no very great fame for accuracy.

In view of these suggestions, we are more than inclined, even in the face of a large array of authority, otherwise entitled to consideration, to regard Samaria, as, by no means, an improbable place for the interment of John, and the traditional tomb as entitled to more than ordinary respect as authentic.

